1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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men. The maguey does not flourish at this low altitude; therefore *pulque* (anciently *octli*) must be imported, and its use is confined largely to festal occasions.

The ancient male costume of the Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments: the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of maguey fiber. Of these three the first has entirely disappeared,[1] the second influenced the form and use of the modern *zarape*, while the third remains little changed today. For all articles of men's clothing worn today in Tepoztlán, Nahuatl terms are in use. The ancient term *tilmahtl* is applied to the *zarape*, and the sandals are still called *cactli* or *cuitlax-cactli* ("leather sandals"). The other terms are descriptive compositions, or are Spanish roots modified to suit Nahuatl linguistic patterns.

A man wears one or more shirts (S. *camisa;* N. *cotontli*) and over these, when the weather is colder or for better dress, a blouse (S. *blusa;* N. *panicotontli*). These, like the trousers, are made of cheap white cotton cloth bought in the local stores and are made up by the women. The blouse is buttonless; the lower ends tie together in front. For holiday attire the shirt may be pink or blue, or a colored vest (S. *chaleco*)

[1] It may possibly be worn by some in Tepoztlán, as it still is elsewhere in Mexico (*ibid.*, p. 121).

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metics are used except that at the carnival talcum powder may be put on the face.

Two generations ago the prevailing woman's costume in Tepoztlán was of another sort, a sort which included more aboriginal elements. This costume still survives in Tepoztlán, where two or three old women still wear it; there are probably others in the neighboring hamlets. It consisted of two principal garments: a skirt (N. *pitzcueitl*), of homespun, white above the hip and black below, where it was pleated; and a white triangle of similar homespun worn over the head like a *poncho* with one corner hanging down the back. This latter garment is the *quechquemitl*. It is a probably indigenous garment worn by Indian women in Central and Northern Mexico.

These two garments were made locally on primitive looms. Today all textiles are imported either as ready-made garments or as cloth to make up into clothing, except some of the women's belts which are still made locally.

The children's clothing reproduces that of the adults.

The aboriginal transportation system and that introduced by the Spaniards exist side by side in Tepoztlán, as they do nearly everywhere in Mexico. *Burros*, mules, horses, and oxen, with the accompanying paraphernalia—saddles, bridles, lassos, yokes—are used in patterns substantially those of sixteenth-century Spain. Only the wheel is not used in Tepoztlán, because the steepness and rockiness of the roads make its use impossible.

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463 [369] primitive community that Tepoztlán once was, and the other of which represents the part of modern urbanized society that it is becoming.

An enumeration of Tepoztecan specialists is not an enumeration of an equal number of individuals; it scarcely need be pointed out that many individuals practice more than one specialty. Some special functions, as those of the musicians, are very occasional. [533] [565] It is noteworthy that in most cases it is a *correcto* who exercises more than one special function.

[532] [333] [327] E. V. was born and brought up in Tepoztlán. His family were by tradition those who made masks for the carnival, and he continues to exercise this function. When a youth he learned the trade of a mason. Later he went to Mexico City. There he learned woodcarving and gilding; these occupations he occasionally practices now that he is back in Tepoztlán. In Mexico City he was for a time a street-car motorman. Now, returned to Tepoztlán, he has a minor position in the municipal government. Occasionally he functions as mason, woodcarver, or gilder, and during the proper season makes masks for the carnival. He also tills his ancestral *milpa*.

[333] [294] L. V. lives in the house where he was born. During the revolution he went to Mexico City and remained there seven years. While there he learned shoemaking. Either there or in Tepoztlán he also learned the mason's trade. Now, back in Tepoztlán, he has a cobbler's shop, occasionally works as a mason, and is also sometimes called upon as a musician. He tills his cornfield also.

The following inventory of specialists is probably not quite complete, either as to the number of occupations represented or as to the number of individuals practicing a given occupation.

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Two teachers, a young man and a young woman: Both are natives, of distinctly *correcto* families, and both were educated in the city. Both wear city clothes all the time and have no other specialty but teaching. [875] [565] [369]

The priest should be mentioned, although during the period of investigation there was no priest officiating in Tepoztlán, as there was not elsewhere in Mexico. He was a man of *correcto* family, well educated in the city. [493] [565]

Five storekeepers: These are men of some capital. They have small shops on the *plaza*. On the whole they devote their time to trade. Each makes frequent trips to Mexico City to buy goods. Most become tradespeople on a small scale or minor commercial employees in Mexico City during the revolution; it does not appear that any one of them inherited the business. Besides these five storekeepers there are two young men who flavor and charge water and bottle the result for local sale. These men have considerable communication with the city. [441] [439] [274]

Two corn-factors: These men buy the locally produced surplus maize, arrange for its shipment to Mexico City, and there sell it wholesale. [442] [439]

Three butchers: Their shops are on the *plaza*. The meat is butchered locally. [438] [253]

Two shoemakers: One, a cripple, learned his trade from an earlier shoemaker in Tepoztlán; the other learned it in Mexico City. [294]

Three carpenters: One man has a shop on the *plaza;* the others work in their homes. Tools are simple and few, all of European pattern. These men make furniture, doors, and candlesticks for the churches, also coffins and saddles. Information is lacking as to where each learned his trade. [335]

Four masons: These men lay brick floors, and build walls and water tanks, occasional columns and porticoes on the better [333] [342]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

857 868 near by, carry a small can of water or corn dough, or chase the chickens from the garden.

At the age of six, many children are sent alone to the corn mill or to the plaza to buy small articles. At seven, they may be required to take care of a younger brother or sister after school hours. Some differentiation between sexes in connection with work begins at about age six, when boys protest doing a girl's work and mothers tend to avoid assigning such tasks. But most small boys continue to do tasks for their mother at home for several years and are expected to obey her orders. At about age six, boys occasionally accompany their fathers to the fields. They look forward to this, and the first trip is an important occasion in their lives. Small boys [241] are not expected to work in the fields but may help in weeding, watching the animals and tools, gathering wood for the fire, and in running errands. From about [264] eight years of age, many boys regularly carry the noon meal to their father in the fields and are required to help with the weeding and cultivation.

[233] As boys get older, their principal work is to pasture the animals and to guard them from being lost or stolen. This work is usually done alone but sometimes two brothers or cousins of about the same age go together. The boys are required to rise early, take the animals to pasture before school, and bring them home after [872] school. Boys are frequently kept out of school to watch the animals or do some other work. From about ten years of age, boys join their fathers and brothers in the [241] field daily to learn the work of a farmer. By the time a boy is fifteen he generally can drive a plow and go through all the necessary steps in planting and harvesting. Most boys enjoy this work and are eager to become farmers. At home, boys of fifteen or so usually haul water, water the plants, take care of large animals, provide firewood, pick fruit, and help shell corn.

Girls generally begin to help their mothers in a serious way at about age seven by taking care of younger children, sweeping, washing dishes, picking up the *petates*, putting away things, and feeding the chickens. Most girls are eager to learn to cook, grind corn, and make tortillas; they begin to learn at age five or six by imitat- [252] ing their mothers. By the time a girl is nine she is generally quite skillful at these [296] tasks and can also cook beans, rice, and prepare coffee. At ten years of age, most girls are expected to wash and mend their own clothes and those of the baby of the family. A girl of thirteen frequently can do all the work of a woman except wash and iron large articles and cook more complicated dishes; this she begins to do at [294] fifteen. Few girls are able to cut out and sew clothing before marriage, although it is one of the necessary skills.

BY SEASON

221 The seasonal division of labor follows quite closely the succession of wet and dry seasons. In plow culture, the agricultural cycle begins with the coming of the first rains, generally in May. In hoe culture, the preparation of the land begins in the dry season between January and February. In September and October the plum harvest engages most families, and then in December the corn harvest begins.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

nails and now, not infrequently, on wood or wire clothes hangers purchased in Cuernavaca. Clothes closets are used only in a very few well-to-do homes in the center of the village. Food, except corn and beans, does not present a storage problem, since it is purchased in small quantities for immediate consumption. A few cans, bottles, jars, and baskets usually suffice to take care of current food. But the more modern or acculturated the family, the greater the number of storage facilities.

The family supply of corn presents the most important storage problem. For this purpose separate structures resembling corncribs are built in the family patio. Redfield describes these as follows:

> The storehouse (S. *troje*) is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohtli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon another at right angles to the first until the structure is raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasiform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.[6]

The *cuescomatl* is now a rarity in Tepoztlán, since most of them have been dismantled or allowed to fall in ruin. They are considered very primitive in appearance, and the few families who still own them are not keeping them in good repair and obviously do not take pride in them, although some of them are over a hundred years old. Now shelled corn is stored inside the house in large sacks made of *petates* sewn together, in large baskets, or in burlap bags.

The sewing machine has, as Redfield put it, "become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character." At present there are 215 sewing machines in Tepoztlán, owned by 25.3 per cent of the families. This is a relatively high proportion in comparison with other rural areas. The average distribution in rural areas throughout Mexico is 15.6 per 100 families; the average for both rural and urban areas in the nation is 22.5 per cent.

Although sewing machines are apt to be found in the poorest homes, as well as in well-to-do homes, there is a high correlation between degree of wealth and ownership of sewing machines. We find such ownership in 76 per cent of Group III, 39 per cent of Group I–C, and 10 per cent of Groups I–A and I–B. It is interesting to note that among Groups I–A and I–B there is a considerable number of families who own no property except a sewing machine. The few wealthy families who do not have their own machines either have little need for one or have all their clothing made by a local seamstress. The 215 machines in Tepoztlán service many more than that number of families, since it is customary to lend or rent machines to relatives and neighbors, and most machines are in continuous use. Indeed, it may be said that one of the secondary but not unimportant effects of the sewing machine

[6] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 33–34.

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
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fewer than thirty Tepoztecans were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros* for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros* return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many *milpas* go unculivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys, clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* movement has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecans, who now greet American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier families of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecans feared to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote* purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solution of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the village and in the nation.

Another important change in Tepoztecans is their greater readiness to sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a